

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 126811

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SUBJECT: NATOMIN: OBJECTIVES PAPER

THE FOLLOWING IS THE REVISED OBJECTIVES PAPER FOR THE
NATO MINISTERIAL MEETING:

THE OTTAWA MINISTERIAL MEETING WILL TAKE PLACE IN AN
ATMOSPHERE CLOUDED BY THE FRAGILITY OF MANY ALLIED
GOVERNMENTS, BUDGET AND BALANCE OF PAYMENTS PROBLEMS IN
MANY MEMBER COUNTRIES, SPIRALING DOMESTIC INFLATION, THE
HOVERING ISSUE OF ASSURED OIL SUPPLIES AT REASONABLE PRICES,
AND ANXIETIES IN EUROPE ABOUT THE FUTURE OF THE COMMUNITY.
ON THE OTHER HAND, TRANSATLANTIC AND INTER-ALLIED FRICTIONS
HAVE EASED, AND YOUR SUCCESS IN THE MIDDLE EAST HAS BEEN
HERALDED AS OPENING PROSPECTS FOR GREATER STABILITY THERE.
AT THE TIME OF THE BRUSSELS MINISTERIAL MEETING,
DIFFERENCES OVER THE MIDDLE EAST WERE PROVOKING MOUNTING
DIFFICULTIES IN US-EUROPEAN RELATIONS. MORE RECENTLY,
INTRA-ALLIED TENSIONS HAVE BEEN CENTERED AMONG THE
EUROPEANS THEMSELVES -- ESPECIALLY SINCE THE NEW UK
SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 126811

LEADERSHIP HAS REVERTED TO MORE TRADITIONAL POLICIES TOWARD
BOTH THE US AND WESTERN EUROPE.

MEANWHILE, SCANT PROGRESS IN CSCE, AND

MBFR AND APPARENT DIFFICULTIES IN SALT HAVE LED THE ALLIES

TO TAKE A MORE SOBER VIEW OF DETENTE PROSPECTS. YOUR COLLEAGUES, ONCE AGAIN, WILL LOOK TO YOU FOR AN AUTHORITATIVE PERSONAL ASSESSMENT OF MAIN INTERNATIONAL TRENDS, AND THEIR INTERRELATIONSHIPS.

THE OTTAWA MINISTERIAL WILL THUS OFFER YOU AN OCCASION TO BUILD ON RECENT ENCOURAGING DEVELOPMENTS IN ATLANTIC RELATIONS, TO GAIN GENERAL SUPPORT FOR A HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT IN BRUSSELS TO SIGN THE NATO DECLARATION, TO STRENGTHEN THE SUBSTANCE AND PUBLIC IMAGE OF ALLIED COHESION IN NATO'S 25TH ANNIVERSARY YEAR, AND TO SHAPE ALLIED APPROACHES AT A CRITICAL PHASE IN EAST-WEST NEGOTIATIONS. IN YOUR PRIVATE BRIEFING OF MINISTERS ON OUR APPROACH TO THE MOSCOW SUMMIT, YOUR COLLEAGUES WILL LOOK TO YOU TO SKETCH THE GENERAL FRAMEWORK OF CURRENT US-SOVIET RELATIONS, THUS PROVIDING POINTS OF REFERENCE FOR DISCUSSION OF BROADER EAST-WEST ISSUES.

WITH RESPECT TO THE HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING IN BRUSSELS, YOU SHOULD POINT OUT THAT IT WILL GIVE THE PRESIDENT AN OPPORTUNITY TO MEET WITH HIS COLLEAGUES, TO REVIEW EAST-WEST RELATIONS WITH THEM BEFORE HIS VISIT TO MOSCOW, AND TO SIGN WITH THEM THE NATO DECLARATION. SIGNATURE OF THIS DOCUMENT AT HEAD OF GOVERNMENT LEVEL WILL STRENGTHEN ITS IMPACT ON PUBLIC OPINION AND DEMONSTRATE OUR DETERMINATION TO REINVIGORATE OUR PARTNERSHIP.

PRIOR TO THE FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEETING, ALLIED DEFENSE MINISTERS WILL HAVE MET AT BERGEN JUNE 12 IN THE NUCLEAR PLANNING GROUP AND AT BRUSSELS JUNE 14 IN THE DEFENSE PLANNING COMMITTEE, WHERE THEY WILL ADOPT FORCE GOALS AND ADDRESS FORCE IMPROVEMENTS AND MBFR. IN THE DPC, WE PLAN TO CONTINUE US EFFORTS TO HOLD THE ALLIES ON A CONSTRUCTIVE COURSE OF MAINTAINING, AND WHERE POSSIBLE
SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 126811

IMPROVING, CONVENTIONAL DETERRENCE.

THE NAC FORMAT AND OTHER ARRANGEMENTS

PURSUANT TO OUR EFFORTS TO RESTRUCTURE THE NAC MINISTERIAL MEETINGS ALONG LINES YOU FAVORED, AGREEMENT HAS BEEN REACHED ON

-- A SPECIAL RESTRICTED MEETING OF MINISTERS, WHERE YOU SAID YOU WOULD BE PREPARED TO ADDRESS THE FORTHCOMING MOSCOW SUMMIT; AND

-- A NEW FORMAT FOR THE FORMAL NAC SESSIONS, DESIGNED TO

ENCOURAGE INFORMAL EXCHANGES BASED ON AGENDA TOPICS
RATHER THAN SETPIECE STATEMENTS BY MINISTERS.

YOU HAVE AGREED NOT TO MAKE OR CIRCULATE IN ADVANCE A
GENERAL STATEMENT AND SAUVAGNARGUES AND GENSCHER WILL
FOLLOW YOUR EXAMPLE. ONLY SOARES PLANS TO MAKE A GENERAL
STATEMENT, AND SOME HAVE RESERVED THEIR OPTIONS, INCLUDING
CALLAGHAN. SOME MINISTERS WILL BE ILL-AT-EASE WITH THE
LESS FORMAL STRUCTURE, AND THE SUCCESS OF OUR EFFORT TO
PROMOTE MORE FOCUSED AND FRANKER EXCHANGES WILL HINGE IN
GOOD PART ON THE LEAD YOU GIVE. LUNS WILL BE READY TO
HELP, AND YOU SHOULD ENCOURAGE HIM PRIVATELY TO DO SO
IF YOU SEE HIM BEFORE THE MEETINGS BEGIN. MOREOVER,
TRUDEAU'S DINNER FOR MINISTERS ON JUNE 17 WILL ALSO HELP
BREAK TE ICE AND SET A LESS FORMAL TONE FOR THE MEETINGS
THEMSELVES.

IN ADDITION TO BILATERAL CONVERSATIONS WITH LUNS AND OTHER
MINISTERS, THE QUADRIPARTITE DINNER WITH A HEAVY BERLIN
AGENDA, INCLUDING PROPOSALS TO TIGHTEN CONSULTATION
PROCEDURES ON BERLIN INITIATIVES, WILL PROVIDE OPPORTUNITY
FOR INFORMAL EXCHANGES WITH YOUR BRITISH AND NEW FRENCH
AND GERMAN COLLEAGUES. YOU WILL ALSO WANT TO BEGIN TO
BUILD WORKING RELATIONSHIPS WITH SOARES (PORTUGAL), WITH
WHOM YOU HAVE SCHEDULED A BILATERAL MEETING, AND GUNES
(TURKEY). LUXEMBOURG FOREIGN MINISTER THORN WILL NOT BE
ABLE TO ATTEND, AND THE LUXEMBOURG REPRESENTATIVE WILL BE
FOREIGN MINISTRY SECRETARY GENERAL WURTH. IN THE ABSENCE
SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 126811

OF DANISH FOREIGN MINISTER BULDBERG, DENMARK WILL LIKELY
BE REPRESENTED BY DEFENSE MINISTER BROENDUM.

THE AGENDA

ATLANTIC RELATIONS AND EAST-WEST NEGOTIATIONS WILL DOMINATE
THE DISCUSSIONS, BUT YOUR COLLEAGUES WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY
ALSO APPRECIATE A FULL AND CANDID ASSESSMENT OF PROSPECTS
FOR FURTHER MIDDLE EASTERN NEGOTIATIONS. THE SPECIFIC
SUBSTANTIVE AGENDA ITEMS ARE:

- I. ATLANTIC RELATIONS
- II. REVIEW OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION
 - EAST-WEST RELATIONS (CSCE AND MBFR)
 - THE SITUATION IN THE MEDITERRANEAN
- III. OTHER POLITICAL SUBJECTS
- IV. ANY OTHER BUSINESS
- V. COMMUNIQUE - DECLARATION

OUR GENERAL OBJECTIVE, WITH RESPECT TO SUBSTANCE AND

PUBLIC IMPACT, SHOULD BE A SOLID REAFFIRMATION OF ATLANTIC SOLIDARITY THAT WILL CONTRAST WITH THE PUBLIC AIRING IN THE RECENT PAST OF INTER-ALLIED DISAGREEMENT OVER THE MIDDLE EAST AND US-WESTERN EUROPEAN RELATIONS.

THE STAGE FOR A MORE POSITIVE PHASE IN ATLANTIC RELATIONS HAS BEEN SET BY:

-- COMPLETION OF A NATO DECLARATION (WE ARE WORKING TOWARD AGREEMENT ON A TEXT BEFORE THE MINISTERIAL);

-- EC NINE AGREEMENT ON THE GYMnich FORMULA, OFFERING THE PROSPECT OF A PRAGMATIC PARTIAL RESOLUTION OF THE PRIOR CONSULTATIONS ISSUE, BUT MORE AD HOC THAN WE WOULD PREFER;

-- COMMENCEMENT OF OUR CONSULTATIONS WITH THE NINE ON THE EC-ARAB INITIATIVE;

SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 126811

-- US-EC AGREEMENT UNDER GATT ARTICLE XXIV-6, WELCOMED BY THE PRESIDENT AS A MAJOR STEP FORWARD IN ATLANTIC RELATIONS;

-- THE OECD STANDSTILL PLEDGE ON RESTRICTIVE TRADE MEASURES;

-- A NEW FRENCH GOVERNMENT, PROBABLY LESS ABRASIVE AND DOCTRINAIRE IN ITS APPROACH TO ATLANTIC TIES.

THE MINISTERIAL OFFERS YOU A CHANCE TO ADD FURTHER IMPETUS BY:

-- OBTAINING AGREEMENT, IF NOT IN HAND BEFORE THE MEETING, ON THE MODALITIES FOR PROMULGATION OF THE NATO DECLARATION;

-- WELCOMING IN YOUR REMARKS THE RECENT PROGRESS IN SEVERAL AREAS OF ATLANTIC RELATIONS AND PLEDGING THAT THE US WILL COOPERATE FULLY IN FURTHER EFFORTS TO PUT ATLANTIC TIES ON A SOUNDER BASIS;

-- NOTING IN PARTICULAR THAT, ALTHOUGH WE WOULD PREFER LESS AD HOC ARRANGEMENTS, THE GYMnich FORMULA FOR US-EC

CONSULTATION IS A STEP IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION, WHILE ADDING THAT THE POLITICAL WILL TO COOPERATE IS THE UNDERLYING BASIS FOR EFFECTIVE CONSULTATIONS;

-- REITERATING OUR UNDERSTANDING THAT THE OBLIGATION TO CONSULT IS RECIPROCAL (NOTE: YOUR COLLEAGUES WILL LOOK TO YOUR TREA

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